1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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the milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family.

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[6] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one.

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer.

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[6] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints.

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404 182 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 433 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tseligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 439 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not unmindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 731 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic), ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
233 731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them
[434] significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/192 cont./

participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/192 cont./

462 342 433 562 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 562 433 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 562 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 199 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism. This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

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177 433 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 554 181 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
SaraKatsani
EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks V [194] present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

S 186 When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 293 [433] Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows: